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Thesis

HOW TO FOSTER WHOLESOME RACIAL ATTITUDES IN CHILDREN

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

This is a new cycle of human power. All the horizons of the world are luminous, and the world will become indeed as a garden and a paradise. It is the hour of unity of the sons of men and of the drawing together of all races and all classes.

'Abdu'l-Baha

INTRODUCTION

The world is no longer made up of separate groups of people which are isolated from each other and which depend only upon themselves for their development. The world today is a unit. Each part is mutually dependent upon every other part. It is like a closely woven fabric; each thread contributes to the strength and beauty of the whole. Though the threads vary in texture, all are necessary. Though they differ in color, variation and contrasts are what make the pattern beautiful. The progress of science has brought the most remote corners of the earth relatively near. The world is no longer as large as it formerly seemed to be. Of what significance are these suggestions to the problem at hand?

From the point of view of our own country: the United States is at present in a strategic position. It is a world factor. All parts of the globe are affected by their economic and political activity. Our nation claims to be a Christian democracy. Ideally, politics and religion should be very nearly identical for each deals with the relations of men to each other and to their highest development.[1] In present practice, however, they are more nearly direct opposites. For the first time in history, (as Mordecai Johnson said in a lecture in Boston on February 10th) the spiritual life now has an opportunity to project a world program to be worked out with

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[1] In a lecture in Boston on October 7th (1928), John Haynes Holmes defined politics as an applied science by which the government carries on its process of life for the betterment and the enlightenment of the people. He defined religion as the life of the community lifted to its highest.

a great political and economic body. How will the United States face the challenge which confronts it? The whole world is waiting to see whether or not we are to uphold our Christian beliefs. Do we really mean what we say? Are we in any sense a democracy? Is our nation a Christian nation? The attitude of the world toward the United States is fast being determined. Others are judging us by our actions; not by the high ideals which we expound, but toward which we do not consciously strive. They are beginning to doubt our sincerity. We are in danger of being charged with hypocrisy. We call our government a democracy; but what of our attitude toward the Negro? We call ourselves Christians; but are our attitudes toward other races# consistent with the teachings of Jesus? "If the Great Society is to be made to work at all satisfactorily, the world will have to be brought to a clear theoretical insight into the objective ethics of democracy and into the most economical and effective, that is, the most moral methods of approximating democracy in practice. This means of course that the world will not only have to do much pointed thinking on ethics, but it will have to have an immense body of knowledge on social relations and processes. Given requisite knowledge, we shall find it far easier to subordinate narrow selfishness and personal sentiments to the needs of social coöperation than we now think.

"Reduced to their lowest terms, the prerequisites to making the Great Society safe and productive of life worth living for all its members are two: the requisite knowledge and the appropriate

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#The term "race" in this discussion is not used in the scientific sense of the word; but rather, as it is more popularly understood, applying to the many groups which are characterized by distinctive traits.

attitudes."[2]

Mr. Johnson speaks of racial prejudice as a great spiritual disease. The task of our nation is to see that this disease is cured and not allowed to conquer its spiritual ideals and thus cause it to lose its great world opportunity. If the disease is cured and America becomes a true democracy, it will be a nucleus for a world democracy. With the prestige it now holds and its political and economic influence which extends to the ends of the earth, what progress might be made! If America's politics were really a part of its religion, as they should be; if our government could even approximate its ideals of democracy, its moral influence would be world wide.

Such a situation probably borders on the Utopian. The purpose in emphasizing it is to show how important our attitudes toward others really are. The attitude of our government which is determining the position we are to hold in the eyes of the world, is a reflection of the attitudes of one person to another.[3] The world problem, then, of establishing "goodwill among men" must be reduced finally to the individual; and as A. B. Wolfe says, "The way out of the present situation - if there is a way out - lies in the youth of the land and in their attitudes, their points of view, their functional knowledge, and their freedom from the heavy impediments of precedent. Well may we say to them, "Ye are the salt of the earth, the light of the world! But we owe it

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[2] Wolfe, A.B., "Conservatism, Radicalism and Scientific Method" p. 311

[3] Oldham, J.H., "Christianity and the Race Problem" p. 233
"The relations between races are determined not by the actions of governments alone but by the personal contacts of multitudes of individuals."

to them to provide an education which will not dim the light; which will not rob the salt of its savor."[4]

The conception of education must be broadened. The acquisition of information is by no means its most important phase. Training the emotions, developing the right sort of attitudes and ideals, motivating the Will - these are what are determining the interpretation of the information and the use to which it will be put. These, therefore, are the factors to which educators are now turning their attention.

In this scientific era of minute division of labor and consequent interdependence of all peoples, the relation of man to man is obviously most vital. The attitudes which determine this relation are largely formed in early childhood and yet, as someone has said, "more attention is given in elementary grades of American public schools to teaching humaneness to animals than in developing sympathy and understanding for humans of other races."[5]

The purpose of this study is to reveal the great need for more conscious effort on the part of adults to foster wholesome racial attitudes in children; and to give some suggestions as to how this may be done. The field of investigation is so new that little is yet known as to the actual process by which attitudes are formed. Psychologists have shown us something of their importance in controlling behavior; the task now is to learn more definitely how the right sort of attitudes may be developed. We place the

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[4] Wolfe, A.B., "Conservatism, Radicalism and Sc. Method" p. 333
[5] Alexander, W.W., Missionary Review, July 1924, p. 507

emphasis on the child, for "the future of the race marches forward on the feet of little children." (Phillips Brooks)

PART I.

RACE PREJUDICE: INHERITED OR ACQUIRED?

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The possibility of fostering wholesome racial attitudes in children denies the hereditary character of race prejudice.

A. Is race prejudice inherited?

There is a widespread belief that adverse attitudes are instinctive. Is there any scientific basis for this belief?

1. Reasons for believing in innate antipathy:

The chief argument for believing in innate antipathy is the fact that observation has shown very young children to possess a feeling of repulsion in the presence of persons of marked racial differences when, so far as it is known, they have had no opportunity to acquire the feeling. The repulsion is closely connected with fear; but as the majority of cases shows, the fear is aroused by the startling difference of appearance rather than by the fact of race. The child may shrink from his first contact with unfamiliar features or color just as he might shrink from contact with an abnormal peculiarity of a person belonging to his own race.

Many adults are convinced that their prejudice is instinctive because they are not able to remember ever having been without it. However, the learning process begins at birth. The child absorbs a profound store of knowledge in the first few months of life. Psychologists are revealing more and more facts to prove that the early years of childhood are vastly important; for it is then that the individual forms fundamental attitudes which may go with him throughout life. The fact that some of

these attitudes are formed so early and become so strong has led to the belief that they are instinctive. For example: "Mrs. D. says that as a child she lived in a part of Ohio where she saw no Negroes. At the age of nine, a Negro came to the home of her father who entertained him, as he was an ardant advocate of social equality between Negroes and whites. She says she immediately felt for this black man a sense of repulsion which she considers innate. She tried to overcome it because he was a friend of her father's, but she could not. Ever since, when she was unavoidably near a Negro, she has tried to get away because she felt an inner distaste. She never told anybody at home about this feeling because she felt it was wrong, but it was always there."[1] We do not know what circumstances in her early life may have caused this feeling. Even though she had never before come in contact with a Negro, there may have been other conditioning factors, such as stories she heard or the attitude of teachers and playmates, which may have produced in her this attitude of repulsion, which did not have an occasion to express itself until long after it had been formed. Very few people can recall what happened to them in early childhood; and tradition ratifies their own later convictions.

2. Reasons for questioning innate antipathy:[2]

There are overwhelming evidences which question innate antipathy. Young children very seldom show any sign

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[1] Lasker, Bruno, "Race Attitudes in Children" p. 30

[2] Much of this material is taken from "Christianity and the Race Problem" Chapter III. by J. H. Oldham.

of race prejudice. Except in such cases as previously described in which the child sometimes seems instinctively to shrink from contact with the unusual, there seems to be a marked absence of any prejudice among them. Young children play together with no regard for race or color. Southern white children love their Negro mammies dearly and show no repugnance toward them. If race prejudice were instinctive, we should expect that it would appear in instances such as these.

Furthermore, communication of prejudice by social suggestion is often observable even in very young children. The power of suggestion is hypnotic - unbelievably strong and effective. We have heard of an experiment performed upon a man who was sentenced to death for a crime he had committed. He was blindfolded; a sharp piece of ice was drawn across his wrist, not even breaking the skin; a small stream of warm water was allowed to trickle over his hand; he was told that an artery had been cut and that he was bleeding to death. And he died! This, perhaps, is an extreme case of suggestibility, but it indicates how powerful suggestion may be. The same power has been observed in animal life. "A naturalist recently saw some tiny ducklings newly hatched on the water's edge. They took no notice of him and were quite happy when he picked them up and fondled them. He then walked away. As he did so, he noticed the mother duck waddling down with frantic speed to the ducklings and, gathering them about her, quacking furiously for some minutes. He then walked down to the water's edge again, but the tiny ducklings fled in terror and throwing themselves into the water paddled away for dear life from the

dreaded monster-man whom they had five minutes earlier allowed to handle them quite unmoved. It was clear that the fear was not instinctive. The mother duck had induced fear of man in the ducklings - not a fear of this man simply, but a generalized dread of and antagonism to man as man."[3]

J. H. Oldham gives a similar illustration from his own experience, and also refers to the description of many such experiments on young animals, as given by Mr. Benjamin Kidd in his book "The Science of Power".[4] These examples show that emotions which seem to be instinctive may have their real source in experiences which are socially transmitted. Evidence from observation of children tends toward the conviction that color prejudice and race prejudice is brought about in a similar fashion; that it is not instinctive, but is aroused by social suggestion.

Another reason for questioning innate antipathy is the fact that "conscious sentiment of race" is a comparatively modern phenomenon. Lord Bryce, after making a survey of conditions in the ancient, medieval, and modern worlds up to the French Revolution, concludes that fact "has shown us that down till the days of the French Revolution there had been very little in any country, or at any time, of self-conscious racial feeling....However much men of different races may have striven with one another, it was seldom any sense of racial opposition that caused their strife. They fought for land. They plundered one another. They

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[3] Mathews, Basil, "The Clash of Color" p. 123
[4] Oldham, J.H., "Christianity and the Race Problem" pp. 32-33

sought glory by conquest. They tried to force their religions on on another....But strong as patriotism and national feeling might be, they did not think of themselves in terms of ethnology, and in making war for every sort of reason, never made it for the sake of imposing their own type of civilization....In none of such cases did the thought of racial distinctions come to the front."[5]

The rise of the white man is comparatively recent. When the British Isles and Northern Europe were inhabited by savages, whose inhuman practices are described by Julius Caesar in "De Bello Gallico", civilization in Egypt was at a high stage. There were paved streets in Rome, marble temples, baths, and beautiful theaters. In India, there were great marble buildings sparkling with jewels and gold, in which philosophers pursued their search for religious truth. China also claimed its scholars and philosophers. Would it not seem apparent that they were superior to the savage tribes of the west and the north? "The intrinsic racial superiority of the Indian, the Chinese, and the Egyptian Negro over the Briton and the Saxon would seem as self-evident and as incontrovertible to them as does that of the Briton and the American today over the Hottentot and savage Papuan."[6]

Further confirmation of the view that race prejudice

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[5] Oldham, J.H., "Christianity and the Race Problem" p. 34 quoting James Bryce: "Race Sentiment as a Factor in History" pp. 25-6

[6] Mathews, Basil, "The Clash of Color" p. 129

is not instinctive is the fact that the strength of racial feeling varies with circumstance. In almost every instance, it varies with the percentage of the aliens. When there are only a few, there is little feeling against them; but when their numbers increase, antipathy increases. Prejudice has been greater in the South because the southerner has been in closer contact with the problem. The fundamental cause of the Chicago riot in 1919 was the fact that the Negro population of the city had far more than doubled in the preceding ten years, and the white people were alarmed. If the strength of the feeling of aversion is dependent upon numbers, it can hardly be considered instinctive.

B. If prejudice is not inherited, how does it come about?

1. Causes of antagonism among adults:

a. Economic:

If prejudice is not inherited, how does it come about? The first cause which we shall mention is the economic. Why has Australia adopted the principle of "white Australia"? It is because the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Indians have a lower standard of living, and so can outbid the whites for jobs. Without the restrictions, the Australians would soon find themselves ousted from their country because cheaper labor had taken their places. Why is there such opposition toward Orientals in California? The same rule holds there. The "foreigners" can live more cheaply and therefore can work more cheaply. The conflict is not racial, but economic. It happens that the white race is on one side and the yellow race is on the other. We automatically blame the thing resented on the thing <u>seen</u>. The struggle, therefore, which is really economic, seems to be racial.

b. Political: A second cause of race prejudice is a desire for political freedom. Historically, the race in power has always assumed a superiority and has oppressed those under its control. "The emotional bias which assigns the Negro in America to an inferior position biologically rests upon the same basis as that in the feudal system in Europe which made the lord of finer clay than the peasant."[7] The Negroes were accustomed to slavery in Africa. Most of them accepted the inferior status in America and developed a whole body of sentiments, attitudes, loyalties, and beliefs consistent with their position. They were slaves in mind as well as in body. Since the existence of slaves implies a master, the whites developed an attitude of mastery or superiority. They were masters in mind as well as in body. The emancipation of the Negroes changed the whole economic and legal system of the country. The supporting attitudes, however, were firmly fixed and could not change immediately. As long as the Negroes were slaves, there was little cause for prejudice; but the gradual changing of attitudes involving new contacts and the insistence upon equal treatment brought friction. Prejudice, thus, particularly in the South, is caste rather than racial prejudice. It is not directed so much against the Negro himself as against his position.

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[7] Reinhardt, J.M., "The Negro: Is He a Biological Inferior?" (Amer. Jr. of Soc., Sept. 1927.)

c. Differences in temperament and character: Bitterness between races may arise from differences in temperament and character. We do not know just how far these differences are due to inheritance, and how far they are the result of social influence. The fact is that virtues highly esteemed in one group are sometimes severely condemned in another. These differences are often the occasion of misunderstanding and hatred. How do we know that our western standards are the best? No matter how the differences come about, through heredity, environment, or both, they are facts which cannot be disregarded.

d. Differences in civilization: A further cause of antagonism may arise from differences in civilization. Such differences do not necessarily arouse antipathy because diverse civilizations with their strange customs sometimes fascinate one another and are eagerly imitated. Often, however, because of the conservatism of human nature, foreign customs are looked upon with suspicion. One civilization fears that if it admits another in any great numbers, its own traditions soon would be over-run. Thus, again, the feeling is not racial, but social and economic. It is a defense mechanism warding off the dangers to its own customs which are threatened by foreign tradition. Civilizations are distinct from races, but they often coincide; so the principle generally holds true. If one race is at a higher stage of development than another, it assumes superiority and governs its relations with lower civilization accordingly.

e. Differences in physical characteristics: One of the most commonly discussed causes for race prejudice is based on physical differences. There may be a natural antipathy arising from fear of the strange in the cases of marked physical differences. Then there is sometimes a feeling of disgust arising from the characteristic bodily odor of each race which is repugnant to other races. These natural antipathies or organic attitudes may be extended to the realm of prejudice. "Physical difference, together with pride of tradition, tends more or less to separate all races, and the degree of separateness depends upon the degree of difference."[8] There has been a tendency among white people to associate black with evil, with witchcraft, sin, bad luck. The black race is, then, assumed to be inferior. How can we say that certain characteristics are superior? Consciousness of kind gives a separate standard for each race. Who is to be the arbitrary judge? Belief in its own superiority is not peculiar to any one race. Throughout history, each race has considered itself superior. Consciousness of kind binds peoples together.

No discussion of the race problem proceeds very far before the question of miscegenation is introduced. Social intermingling of members of unlike races, as distinguished from business relationships, always seems to suggest inter-marriage and to arouse feelings of repulsion among both races. In spite of the prevalent idea of the white man, evidence tends to indicate that

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[8] Dowd, Jerome, "The Negro in American Life" p. 569

Negroes would prefer to marry Negroes but for the white man's superior culture. In regard to these suggestions, Dowd says, "In insisting on the ineradicable preference of each race for social intermingling with its own kind, I do not wish to be understood as implying that there is not very often developed out of this a race prejudice which is irrational and indicative of lack of human sympathy. It is likely to lead to disparagement of merit in other races than our own, to acts of hostility, to unfair methods in business competition, and in all spheres of rivalry. A preference or a selectiveness of any kind which goes beyond what is absolutely necessary for the protection of racial integrity, and the domestic sanctuary, is the mark of a narrow mind and a cold heart."[9]

Ignorance and misrepresentation are supplementary to all other causes of race prejudice. One writer has called such antipathy a pathological attitude.[10] He parallels it with insanity, showing that the individual ruled by prejudice reacts in much the same way as one who is insane. The comparison is interesting and very startling. Quoting from the Proceedings of the Universal Races Congress, 1911 (page 35): "Race prejudice forms a species belonging to a flourishing genus. Prejudices innumerable exist based on callousness, ignorance, misunderstanding, economic rivalry, and above all, on the fact that our customs are dear to us, but appear ridiculous and perverse to all who do not sympathetically study them. Nation looks down on nation, class on class,

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[9] Dowd, Jerome, "The Negro in American Life" p. 444

[10] Frazier, Edw.F., "The Pathology of Race Prejudice" Forum, June 1927, pp. 856-862

religion on religion, sex on sex, and race on race. It is a melancholy spectacle which imaginative insight into the lives and conditions of others should remove."[11] Prejudice is increased as races drift apart in sympathy and understanding. Diminishing personal contact results in increased ignorance, distrust, and therefore, prejudice. Fear, insecurity, and a sense of injustice are the parents of unrest and race hatred. The whites class all Negroes together because they have not become acquainted with cultured Negroes. They are too prone to generalize from a few unfavorable experiences and to assign to all members of the other race, the most undesirable characteristics of a few of its most undesirable members. Much harm and injustice is done to Chinese character, for example, by the misrepresentation of Chinese centers by Sight-Seeing Bus owners who advertise Chinatown as the vice center of New York City. Regarding this point, the press and the films also have an important influence. All Orientals are not of the character so often portrayed by prejudiced newspaper accounts. There are many, many of them in our American colleges - young men and women of excellent families and advanced education. "We may not think we believe what we read in the newspapers, but if we read it often enough, we do believe it. The films are even more persuasive, for they carry the illusion of reality. To see a Mexican, Japanese, or Russian villain on the screen is only a little less convincing than seeing one in real life. For the immature mind (and all minds are

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[11] Dowd, Jerome, "The Negro in American Life" p. 367 (quoting)

immature at some stage) it may be just as convincing."[12] The Jewish Daily News printed the following account: "We met a man the other day who hailed from an out-of-the-way place and who said that he had never met a Jew. There was no reason to doubt his word. We were introduced to him. He asked with eyes wide open: 'Are you a Jew?' 'Sure,' was our reply. 'Well, well!' he mumbled. 'What's on your mind?' we asked. Here is his reply: 'I thought that a Jew looked like a Jew comedian I saw in vaudeville show. I must have been wrong.'"[13]

Misrepresentation by misplaced emphasis is shown by this illustration: "Booker T. Washington used to tell with great amusement how he entered a little town and spoke to a large gathering, making as good a speech as he was capable of. The next morning he picked up the town paper, expecting to see himself and the meeting given considerable and prominent place, but found only an inch or so of recognition on the last page. He had made a successful speech, but the whole front page was given to a Negro who had made an <u>unsuccessful</u> attempt to snatch a woman's purse."[14]

2. Causes of antagonism among children:

a. Adult influence:

Probably the most important cause of race prejudice among children is the influence of adults in the home, the church, the school, the neighborhood. "The Inquiry" in New

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[12] Duffus, Robt. L., "Where Do We Get Our Prejudices?" Harpers, Sept. 1926, p. 504

[13] "And Who Is My Neighbor?" p. 2

[14] "And Who Is My Neighbor?" p. 12

York City has appointed a Committee on Race Attitudes of Children. Bruno Lasker, a member of this Committee, says that "it believes that problems of race relations are problems of different mental attitudes, and that it is more useful to find out what people of all walks of life think are problems in which race is involved than to make ex cathedra pronouncements as to what problems are biological, economic, concerned with historical animosities, with differences in cultural traditions or falling into other such ready-made classes."[15] For this reason, the Committee, in 1925, sent out eight hundred copies of a questionnaire concerning the problem, with the hope of getting parents, teachers, religious and social workers to tell their impressions of the matter. A similar committee was appointed by the Commission on Christian Education of the Federal Council of Churches. Both committees cover somewhat the same ground, but the second approaches its investigation from the point of view of the child. Its questionnaire is sent to the children themselves in order to learn their reactions. The two committees coöperate and make their findings mutually available so as to avoid duplication of effort. It is from the data collected by these committees that we have drawn much of our material. Mr. Henry M. Busch of the second committee says, "The majority of the members of this committee believe that racial prejudice is socially conditioned; that there is no such thing as innate racial prejudice, but that it comes about in children through the absorption of atti-

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[15] "What Happens on Your Street?" Survey, Apr. 15, 1924, p. 85

tudes expressed by the community, especially by parents and adults close to the child. In many cases the attitude is transmitted by adults to one child and through him passed on to other children. There are those, however, on our committee who believe that racial prejudice is instinctive, being caused by the perception of difference. It is probable that the psychologist and the sociologist would support the group who believe in the social conditioning theory. There seems to be no conclusive evidence supporting the theory of instinctive prejudice. Analysis of the total situation wherever carried out seems ultimately to reveal a specific social situation out of which an attitude develops."[16]

The findings of both committees indicate a reflection of adult attitudes by children. The concensus of opinion seems to be that adult attitudes are the most important influence in conditioning the child's attitude toward people of other races. "The pressure of social suggestion and the tendency to imitation and identification constantly transform what is environmental into something personal, something which has put its stamp to a greater or less degree upon the character of the individual."[17] Thus adult attitudes are very important as conditioning influences in child life because they become so easily a real part of the child's character - an internal factor of the child's make-up.

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[16] "Race Attitudes of Children" Rel. Ed. Magazine, June 1926, p. 278

[17] "Character Building" p. 111 (Proceedings of the Mid-West Conference on Parent Education, February 1928)

Imagine the impression made on the many children who are frightened into obedience by the threat "If you are not good, the black man will get you." I remember, as a child, entertaining some little friends in front of my home. Two Negro women who were employed at a nearby home, came walking by. My playmates fled in terror. They had been taught that black people were the ones who would "get" them when they were naughty. They were terrified whenever they saw any Negroes.

A child psychologist, in answering The Inquiry's questionnaire, estimates that the prejudice of two thirds of a given group is caused "by the attitudes of the adult members of their group who discuss people of other races in their home, taking pains to bring to the fore all the more degrading characteristics of the group instead of stressing the similarity of their human failings and virtues. In many homes, persons of another race are always spoken of by the derisive names applied to their group, such as 'nigger', 'coon', 'wop', 'sheenee', instead of the more dignified term applied to them in book of knowledge."[18] "A mother's attitude toward a Swedish cook or Italian vegetable dealer may mean a long-enduring hostility on the part of the child toward all Swedes or all Italians....The child generalizes from very little data; and he does not have to check the validity of his generalizations....Here an explosion of temper, there a mere grimace, only rarely a deliberate formulation of a judgment - but for the child the net result is a class name firmly cemented by

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[18] Lasker, Bruno, "Race Attitudes in Children" p. 94

angry or unkind feelings, to a derogatory adjective. The child soon becomes an adult, retaining the habit of generalizing without having learned the need or the method of checking; he is a person full of prejudices."[19] The mind is such a subtle thing. It may take but a trifle to color one's whole viewpoint. Merely raising an eyebrow or lifting the hand in protest or opposition may be the beginning in the child's mind of a firmly fixed antagonistic attitude. Prejudice may begin even before the child learns to talk. He quickly learns to imitate gestures, facial expressions, and then words of adults. "When no mention of any kind is made of the existence of other groups in the community, the child is apt to develop a distinct sense of superiority..."[20] As another writer puts it, "Our passive offenses....are perhaps more pernicious than our active. We do not always say 'Remember that you are the only wholly decent people on the earth', but we very frequently let our children think it. And soon they begin pretty nearly to believe that 'God's Country' really is the country where God (and I) come from."[21]

In districts where adult race antagonism is strong, evidence shows children's prejudice to be strong also; and in districts where there is little adult prejudice, there is little among children. The Gary School strike in 1927 occurred when fourteen hundred white school children in Emerson High School, Gary,

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[19] Gruenberg, S.M., "Twigs of Prejudice" Survey, Sept. 1, '26 p. 586
[20] Lasker, Bruno, "Race Attitudes in Children" p. 102
[21] Lofting, Hugh, "Children and Internationalism" The Nation, Feb. 13, 1924, p. 173

Indiana, went on strike because twenty-four Negro children were going to be admitted to the school. These children were merely reflecting the attitude of their homes. They would not have acted as they did if their parents had not approved. They were too young to know how cruel, how thoughtless, how un-American their action was. Their parents were responsible for it.

Even when parents do not have certain prejudices, the child - his outlook having been colored by some unfavorable experience - may interpret their action in the light of his own prejudice which, in this way, comes to be still more firmly fixed. How important it is, then, for the parent to realize what great influence he has in molding the attitudes of his child, and how carefully he must guard his responsibility!

b. Institutional influences:

(1) Segregation:

When certain groups are segregated in neighborhoods, schools, churches, public conveyances, etc., the feeling of difference is greatly emphasized and sparks of prejudice very easily are fanned into flame. An eastern worker among children writes: "Segregation....emphasizes social differences and fosters a spirit of narrowness which makes adjustment of races that must by the very nature of their environment come in contact with each other, almost impossible because they have no knowledge of each other upon which to base their contacts and are swayed entirely by their own emotional reaction toward the other group."[22] Concerning this point, a group of parents says,

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[22]Lasker, Bruno, "Race Attitudes in Children" p. 116

"The influence of segregation on the attitudes of children to those of other races is very strong in that the child has a tendency to believe that 'whatever is, is right'. Finding segregation an established fact in his little world, he assumes it to be the right thing. Sometimes he asks questions 'Why?'; but the white adult can always cleverly turn the question aside so that the first impression is that his little white group always knows what is best for the little black or yellow or brown group."[23]

Children are quick to notice that colored boys and girls do not come to their church or their school. They do not take long to acquire the emotional attitudes of their own group and to assume a feeling of superiority. They join wholeheartedly and thoughtlessly in calling the section of the town where the Negroes live, Niggertown, Snow Hill, or other such derisive names. They express their attitudes most often, it seems, in fear and ridicule of the manners and customs of the various racial groups. Children make frequent use of racial nicknames long before they understand what they mean. The weapon of ridicule is a strong power in reënforcing one's sense of superiority. Children's love of rhythm frequently leads them to invent cutting rhymes which they enjoy inflicting upon their racial enemies.

(2) Exclusion: Exclusion of members of other races from employment, schools, civic rights, amusements, hotels, clubs, etc., is not noticed by children so early as some other factors; but they do "catch" the at-

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[23] Lasker, Bruno, "Race Attitudes in Children" p. 24

titudes of adults very quickly and are greatly influenced by them. As they grow older and are faced with actual situations, prejudice becomes more evident.

(3) Association of race with social status: One of the most frequent attitudes assumed by the dominant group is the association of racial groups with a certain social status. Many white people have been accustomed to regard Negroes as servants. They assume, therefore, that all Negroes belong to a status of servitude. The Italians with whom one has come in contact have been day laborers. One assumes, then, that all Italians belong to a low class of unskilled workers. It is so easy to believe that people with inferior positions are themselves inferior. There often is no prejudice against Negroes who remain in servile positions. It is when they no longer "keep their place" that antagonism arises.

c. Differences in language and customs: Differences in language and customs are very likely to call forth ridicule and a feeling of superiority on the part of the dominant group. Because these people are different, they are funny, and of course are not as good as <u>real</u> Americans.

d. Educational influences: Many of the antagonistic feelings against those of other races are

(1) Teaching: the result of actual teaching. The child is confronted with an overwhelming number of new ideas before his critical faculties have been developed, and he accepts things on

authority. Society presses its traditional attitudes, ideas, and sentiments upon the child during the most formative years of his life and when he is least able to defend himself. He is required to absorb so much information that he has little opportunity to develop a critical attitude. Social pressure causes him to accept, to a great extent, the society into which he is born, and the store of knowledge which he acquires is often distorted and the result of misinformation and misrepresentation. Mr. A. B. Wolfe tells of a committee of New York city school superintendents who were appointed officially to examine and report upon the history textbooks used in that city. They recommended the following rule: "The textbook must contain no statement in derogation or in disparagement of the achievements of American heroes. It must not question the sincerity and purposes of the founders of the republic or of those who have guided its destinies."[24] As Hugh Lofting says, "Surely it is very wrong to misrepresent things to children - and none the less wrong when we plead patriotism as an excuse.... Suppose that a book of merit, truthfully descriptive of modern war, were written for children; it would be interesting to see if any publisher would accept and publish it."[25]

How can wholesome international and interracial attitudes be developed when the child is trained through false patriotism? The child is taught to regard his country and his race as

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[24] "Conservatism, Radicalism, and Scientific Method" p. 324
[25] "Children and Internationalism" The Nation, Feb. 13, 1924, p. 172

superior. The history books and other texts used in schools should be scrutinized to eliminate material which heightens nationalism, exaggerates patriotism, and fosters the sense of racial superiority. Children learn what is not true just as thoroughly as they learn what is true; and they believe in it just as firmly.

Children are taught that the Negroes are a lazy, unintelligent, immoral group of people who can never expect even to approximate the white man in achievement. Instruments of mental measurements have not yet been discovered which can give conclusive proof as to the inferiority or superiority of any race as a whole. There are so many factors involved in the measurement of mental capacity that very little scientific data concerning this problem has been secured. Tests which are made by white men for white men and used to test Negroes may not indicate his true capacity; and so the comparison of the scores of whites and Negroes may not be so significant as they seem. Children should be taught the truth with regard to races, so far as it is known; rather than having facts misrepresented in favor of the group to which they belong.

Even in the Sunday School, many many harmful attitudes are formed. The missionary lessons often lead the child to regard other races condescendingly in terms of "benighted heathen". Children are taught that they are the heirs of all that is good and right, and that they are to carry the light into a land where there is nothing but darkness. Should not the suggestion be made that the people of other lands may have something for us? Might there not be a reciprocation? We do not have a corner on all that

is of value in life. Too often, it is the differences rather than the similarities between peoples which are stressed in our training. We magnify the differences in dress, speech, living conditions, and other such factors which are really nonessentials, but which produce in our children an attitude of superiority. Missionary instruction is usually based on the contrast between the way in which foreign people live and the way in which we live, with the inference that our way, of course, is the best.

Another serious criticism of traditional missionary education is that it emphasizes benevolence to the people in other lands without showing the need of practicing Christianity toward our neighbors of other races in our own community. The report of the Inquiry's investigation says that a group of New Jersey parents agreed that "as far as educational influences are concerned, up to the present time no effort has been made in school or Sunday School to overcome adverse race attitudes. One might almost say that in Sunday School no Christian emphasis is laid on the brotherhood of man racially. Missionary instruction is given but its purpose is to emphasize the supremacy of the white race. Always the chief idea stimulated is that of 'sweet' patronage."[26]

The following extract from the report of the Inquiry is significant. It shows the results of a test applied in the choir school of a church known throughout the country as a center of liberal Christianity. The answers are reproduced in the original

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[26]Lasker, Bruno, "Race Attitudes in Children" p. 182

spelling. They were written by boys who were asked to write down the names of any people they did not like and to state why they did not like them.

> Italians, Chinese, Mexicans, Japs and Portuguese and Germans (Spaniards and Russians being crossed out again after reflection). The Italians are a very unclean and sneaking race. The Chinese and Japs are a stealing and distrustful people. The Mexicans are a stingy and conspiracy people. The Portuguese are a very blood-thirsty and dishonest people. Germans are hateful because of their love for war and bloodshed.

> Chinese and Jews. I donot like the Chinese because they are so sly and I am afraid they will plunge a knife into me when my back is turned. I do no like the Jews because they are so tight and because if you are in a subway rush they push you away and are generally disagreeable.

> Jews. Because they live in dirty places. Chinese. Because they have such a bad reputation. Niggers. Because they are crooks and too free with razors. Italians. Because they are such a nasty and dirty people.

> Neagro I do not like the Neagro because he fits with rasers and are verry sly. Chinese I dont know but I dont like them thats all. Mexican are verry sly they sneek upon you. Japanese I dont like them. Jews I dont like them. Indians kill the white people and that is why I dont like them.

> Italians Irish Mexicans Wobs Chinese Germans. Because some times they swipe and get kind of fresh.

> Chinese because of their bringom into our country opium. Irish (South) because of religion.

> Chenisse Because I do not like to be knifed.
> Mexican Because their are lazy, like some of us.

> Negroes - Unreasonable dislike probably. (This, to judge from the handwriting, probably from an older boy.)

> black race - think thay own the country
> red race - thay kill
> Chinese - " "
> Japiness - thay steal
> Irish - thay swair and lie
> Germans - croks

Chinese - to crafty
Cannibal - Eat up people
Serians - not clean people
Germans - War makers
Turkeys - Torturers

I don't like Chinese because they stab you with knives.
I don't like Italian's because they robb.

Chinese, Italians, Jewish, Russians. Because the Russians and Chinese do a lot of underhand work and the Italians try to make themselves disagreeable. The Jews are always trying to charge more for goods and small things like that.

People: Chinese, Mexican. Race Mongolian, White. I do not like the Chinese because of the looks of the slant eyes gives me a chill.

Jewish A race that believes Jesus was not on earth
Italian to dirty
Black race. Do not know.

Chinese You can never tell what they are going to do next.

Chinese - I do not like the Chinese because they have a certain air about them, a sneaking, slimy air. Mexican - A Mexican you think of as a person who will creep up and stab you in your back. Germans - A German seems to have a nasty disposition. Jews - A Jew is too tight and he goes around always talking about money.

Japanese, Jews, Chinese, Bolshevik. I do not like the Japs because there is something about them that gives one a feeling of distrust. I do not like the Jews because of many of their habits. I do not like the Chinese because they are so backward and refuse to be helped, - and have such an aversion to help from foreigners. I greatly dislike the Bolshevists because of their sections in Europe.[27]

These answers reflect the combined influence of various educational sources - the public school, the Church School, the movies, home teaching, books, newspapers, etc. They are a strik-

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[27] Lasker, Bruno, "Race Attitudes in Children" pp. 140-141

ing indication of the prejudiced point of view in which the concepts were presented.

(2) Books and pictures: Books and pictures often foster prejudices because of misinformation, misrepresentation, or misplaced emphasis. They so often present their particular characters as typical of the race to which they belong. Their effect is indicated by the answers to the questions as given above. Books of travel are so often colored with prejudice that the concepts which they produce are far from accurate. People of other races are most often represented in pictures by the lowest types in their groups. Children are led to believe that all Africans, for instance, go about practically naked, living a shiftless life depending entirely upon nature for their sustenance. Evil is always painted black; and the generalization sometimes made from this is that Negroes must, therefore, be evil. A Negro theological student tells of a picture he has seen in which the devil was not only depicted as black but also with kinky hair and thick lips.[28] Severe criticism has been launched against such stories as Little Black Sambo, which may seem perfectly harmless, but still, when not presented tactfully may lead to the impression that all colored children are as stupid and silly as Little Black Sambo is pictured to be. This first impression, strengthened by subsequent stories and incidents read later in newspapers and books, will fix in the mind of the individual the idea that Negroes are a worthless group of people. Children have

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[28] Lasker, Bruno, "Race Attitudes in Children" p. 208

not developed a critical attitude and they are prone to generalize from single experiences, forming antagonistic attitudes. Even the pictures used in the Sunday School often are such as produce undesirable impressions. For example, one in particular which is widely used in reference to missionary instruction is "The Heavenly Father's Children" by F. Liley Young. This picture ~~is~~ a white child, the central and largest figure, with the Christian flag, leading the children of other races and nations, apparently, from darkness into light.[29] How presumptuous to make the fair child so much the most prominent! He is the important part of the picture; the other children seem meekly to be following one who is definitely superior.

(3) Movies: Moving pictures have become so popularized that they must be recognized as an important factor in the lives of children. Too often their influence is very demoralizing. Children who do not come into direct contact with other races may form their whole conception of them from the movies which they see. Movies are very convincing because of their emotional appeal due to the fact that real people are doing things. To the child, all Chinese are like the Chinese villain on the screen. His attitude is antagonistic because those of other races are usually pictured in the part of the villain or are made the objects of ridicule through misrepresentation and exaggeration of differences.

(4) Jokes and comic strips: Jokes and comic strips are often harmful because of their fla-

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[29] (See page 26)

grant exaggerations. They make an appeal because of the grotesqueness. They exaggerate differences, and place their "victims" in unfavorable positions where ridicule is usually inevitable. Unfortunate emotional conditioning is brought about by the use of uncomplimentary epithets, belittling stories, slurs, and such thoughtless practices common among children.

e. Generalizations from personal experiences with other races:

We have spoken before of the tendency of the child to generalize from particular instances. We now wish to emphasize the fact that children's race prejudice is often aroused because of a single unpleasant experience with an individual of another race. The only Negro whom the child knows may be the cross old janitor at the school, who happens to be shiftless and lazy. Lacking proper training, the child will regard all Negroes as shiftless and lazy. Much prejudice against the Chinese is caused by the fact that the only Chinese with whom the children come in contact are the laundrymen who have their tiny places of business in undesirable sections of the city.

3. Causes social rather than racial.

Thus we see that the causes of prejudice are due largely to social relationships rather than to anything distinctly racial. It is not so much a problem of actual differences between the races as a problem of what people <u>think</u> about those differences. It is the mental attitudes of individuals which determine what their relationships will be.

PART II.

HOW MAY WE FOSTER WHOLESOME RACIAL ATTITUDES IN CHILDREN?

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The psychology of attitudes is, as yet, little understood; but the importance of these controls of conduct is rapidly being recognized. Let us see how various psychologists have defined them: William Kilpatrick says, "My attitude toward anything is what I customarily think about that thing and how I am customarily inclined to behave towards that thing...."[1] Attitudes are the stuff from which character is built.

A. What is an attitude?

A. B. Wolfe defines an attitude as "the type of sentiment which the individual manifests upon the recurrence of a given situation. It is a behaviour-pattern with reference especially to the 'feeling side' of the response."[2]

H. C. Warren speaks of an attitude as "a permanent set of our mental and nervous system which modifies the effect of stimuli and determines how we respond."[3]

Charles H. Judd defines an attitude as the conscious fact which parallels a reaction.[4]

William C. Bagley differentiates between emotional attitudes which he calls prejudices, and attitudes themselves (referring to mental attitudes). He separates them on the basis of their origin - prejudices growing out of the frequent application of

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[1] "Foundations of Method" p. 100
[2] "Conservatism, Radicalism, and Scientific Method" p. 9
[3] "Elements of Human Psychology" p. 332
[4] "Psychology"

ideals and standards; attitudes, the resultants of the operation of ideas, facts, and principles.[5]

In our conception of an attitude, we do not propose to limit the definition to the mental functions alone; but to consider attitudes in a more general sense, including the total point of view of an individual in regard to a particular thing. We shall consider attitudes as the lenses of the spectacles through which the individual is looking. The lenses may be too concave to fit the eyes of the person, making his outlook distorted; or they may be clouded, dimming his vision.

B. How are attitudes formed?

Attitudes ordinarily are built incidentally. The building of them, whether they are right or wrong, is inevitable. Whenever the child is doing anything, he is building up attitudes and ideals concerning that thing. The ideal may be a high one or a low one. The attitude may be favorable or unfavorable. "The attitude is in part the residual effect of the act, but it remains as a predisposition to certain forms of subsequent activity. The motive or intention is an integral part of the act, and no estimate of the quality of the act can be made without considering the inner experience....Attitudes exist as tendencies to act; they are subjective, and therefore difficult to investigate."[6]

Attitudes begin in concrete experiences in which feeling

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[5] "Educational Values" p. 65
[6] Faris, Ellsworth, "Attitudes and Behavior" Amer. Jr. of Soc. Sept. 1928, p. 271

is a predominant element. The multiplication of similar experiences strengthens these attitudes more and more because each one leaves behind it a residual element. This residual element, or predisposition, acts, then, as a conditioning factor to direct further development. Attitudes are built by association. The child does not learn one thing at a time; he is associating all sorts of ideas, attitudes, and ideals with the main problem. Attitudes are in reality by-products of learning. The part of the adult in developing character is indirect. What a child does and the way he interprets what he does are the things which determine his character. The adult's task is to try to get the child to do the things which are most likely to build character, and then to try to get him to approve the good and repeat it. This process is indirect. The teacher must, however, be conscious of his great responsibility and know what he is doing, so that he may direct the pupil's activities in a way which will foster the proper ideals and attitudes. The teacher is to consider them consciously; while the pupil usually achieves them unconsciously or indirectly. The influence of personalities seems to be the most important factor in conditioning the child's attitudes. The family, particularly the mother, provides the first set of habit-forming influences. The teacher, then, is second in importance. Probably the personality of the teacher and the atmosphere of the school are the fundamental factors of this influence. As Bagley says, "the teacher's own attitudes and prejudices must be right....and the life of the school must be impregnated with the positive tendencies which we

wish to have transferred to the minds of the pupils;....the concrete realities surrounding the child are the most effective sources of his ideals, and it is through the repeated application of ideals that prejudices are developed."[7] (see p. 33, bottom) Attitudes are extremely contagious, and whether or not the adult is conscious that his attitude is observable, the child is quick to sense it. Apparently unexpressed feelings and emotions often reveal themselves in the tone of voice, in a slight gesture, in the facial expression, or in some other subtle manner. Though the adult may not realize it, his emotional states are, in such ways as these, communicated to the child who inevitably takes them to himself.

The formal instruction which aims to instill the right sort of attitudes proceeds by the same method used in inculcating ideas and ideals. The important factors here are, of course, the selection of subject matter which is in keeping with the desired goal, and its presentation in the proper perspective.

C. The importance of attitudes as controls of conduct.

Attitudes and behavior are closely associated. An attitude is really a generalized behavior-pattern. As our definitions indicate, an attitude is one's customary way of looking at a situation. It is a tendency or disposition to react in a specific manner. A person with a certain attitude will generally meet and evaluate a given situation in a typical and predictable way. One's attitude determines the way in which situations are interpret-

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[7] Bagley, W.C., "Educational Values" p. 71

ed. Sensory impressions are significant only as they arouse attitudes. One's attitudes condition the response made to the sensory stimuli. The stimulus is received, but the motor response must await the decision of the attitudes which determine the direction it will take. The path of response becomes strengthened through repetition and an attitude becomes as important a control of conduct as the most firmly fixed habit.[8] Furthermore, attitudes are largely the initiating force for the formation of habits themselves. Habits are conditioned by attitudes and must conform to them. The parent and the teacher to whom the task of fostering wholesome attitudes in children falls have a great responsibility. These so-called "by-products" of education are really the most important factors in controlling the direction which their lives will take. They determine what the child will count as the important things in life. His own ideas and evaluations which he is building in early childhood, are the foundations for his future attitude toward life. Ideals and attitudes are the foundation of character development. And they are often entirely neglected by the schools!

D. General suggestions for fostering wholesome racial attitudes:

1. Education of adults

Since the attitudes of children are so largely determined by the attitudes of the adults with whom they come in contact, it is important that an attempt be made to educate adults so that they may understand the problem of race and approach it from a

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[8]Faris, Ellsworth, "Attitudes and Behavior" Amer. J. of Soc. Sept. 1928, p. 271

rational point of view. In order to communicate a desirable attitude, one must have a desirable attitude to communicate. It is difficult to conceal one's feelings toward other races, and the child is quick to imitate. If the teacher has the proper attitude, it is likely that the children will acquire it. The teacher with firm, wholesome convictions regarding the brotherhood of man will teach world-mindedness whether he knows it or not. His personality is more important in matters of the emotions than scholarship and curriculum. However, it is as Hugh Lofting says, "Those teachers who are valiantly trying to show the children their duty to society through mutual tolerance and undisturbed self-expression cannot accomplish very much while they are vastly outnumbered by benighted mothers and fathers who have their children's attention through more than four-fifths of the total hours in the year."[9] Teachers should make every effort to become acquainted with the parents and to lead them to understand the idea of emotional conditioning and the effect of their own attitudes, speech, gestures, etc., in producing good or bad attitudes in their children. In the first place, the adult must get rid of the idea that the "place" of people of other races is near the bottom of the social ladder. The natural place for any race is the highest place to which it is able to climb. The amount of ignorance in regard to the facts of race is astounding. This very fact, we have shown, is the underlying cause of prejudice. Goodwill cannot prevail unless there is sympathy and

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[9] "Children and Internationalism" The Nation, Feb. 13, 1924 p. 173

understanding; and understanding is brought about largely through knowledge. The effect of education on prejudice is shown by the results of Watson's test of social attitudes. The results are greatly modified "by a little judicially furnished information."[10]

Many volumes have been written on the question of race; particularly on the Negro problem. Some of them are fair and just presentations of fact; many are prejudiced misrepresentations. It is necessary to regard the question from a scientific point of view. General opinion has held tenaciously to belief in the inherent superiority of the white race - the Nordics in particular - and in the assumption that the Negroes are at the lowest stage of human development. What have been the discoveries of science? Are the Negroes doomed to eternal inferiority? Despite the prevalent belief among whites, conclusive proof of their inferiority as a race has not yet been established. The results of various tests applied to children and adults of both races favor the white race to some extent; but these tests were built by white men on the basis of the white man's environment and training; and the differences in grades are not nearly so great as common opinion would lead one to expect. Differences between the average white and the average Negro are less than the variations between individuals of the same race. The scores of many Negroes are higher than the average for whites. It is important in the interpretation of these scores and in judging the present development of the Negro, to remember that he started out in America with generations of slavery

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[10]Duffus, R.L., "Where Do We Get Our Prejudices?" Harpers Sept. 1926, p. 505

behind him. Life in America did not allow for cultural development. Individuals in groups brought from Africa were purposely separated; families were intentionally broken up so that the problem of management might be made easier for the slave holder. The Negroes had no opportunity to preserve their culture which they brought with them because they were so thoroughly separated from their own cultural groups. The Negro has, therefore, had little or no culture of his own upon which to draw; and he has lived in the midst of a people whose slave he has been and who look upon him as a human inferior of the lowest type. Yet "in spite of these handicaps, and in the short period of sixty years, he has made an increase in literacy of eighty per cent. He has acquired by his thrift and toil property running into the billions...."[11] Lord Bryce has said that the American Negro has developed more in sixty years than the Anglo-Saxons did in six centuries.[12]

Negro laziness has been accepted for so long that it is almost a tradition among white people. Read what Sir Frederick Lugard, ex-Governor of Nigeria, says: "It has long been the fashion to speak of the African as naturally lazy, leaving work to his women, and contented to lie in the sun and eat and drink. It would seem, however, that there are few races which are more naturally industrious....The labor expended in collecting and preparing for export some £ 4,000,000 worth of palm produce in

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[11] Reinhardt, J.M., "The Negro: Is He a Biological Inferior?" American Jr. of Soc., Sept. 1927, p. 260

[12] Mathews, Basil, "The Clash of Color" p. 67

the southern Provinces of Nigeria, and of £ 1,500,000 worth of ground nuts for the Northern Provinces, must be prodigious....No white man could ever carry so heavy a load or for so long a distance as he does without over-fatigue, and at heavy earth work with his own implements he can show good results. At skilled trades he is an apt pupil. In West Africa, Natives trained as apprentices man the work-shops and the printing offices, and make efficient turners, fitters, smiths, carpenters, and even engineers of launches."[13] Is it not true, as Booker T. Washington said, that "there is all the difference in the world between working and being worked"?[14]

The problem of race can never be solved until the importance of the individual is recognized; and each individual is given justice and equality of opportunity. Equality of achievement is, of course, impossible as well as undesirable, but every individual must be given an opportunity for self-expression and development to the extent of his capacity.

Conflict has raged and still rages over the question of equality of races; but whether races are equal or unequal is far less important than it has been made to seem. The significant thing is that races differ. They differ in physical characteristics, in psychological traits, in tradition, and in culture; and these are the elements which are cited as the causes of the problem. Races overlap to such a great extent that superiority and inferiority are not the vital issues. Belonging to a certain race

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[13] Mathews, Basil, "The Clash of Color" p. 66 (quoting)
[14] Ibid: p. 66 (quoting)

does not stamp an individual as superior or inferior. But it is the differences which cause the trouble. The lesson to be learned here is that it is neither desirable nor necessary to destroy race differences in order to solve the problem. Every race has its unique contribution. Race is real. Dr. McDougall suggests that: "Racial qualities both physical and mental are extremely stable and persistent, and if the experience of each generation is in any manner or degree transmitted as modifications of racial qualities, it is only in a very slight degree, so as to produce any molding effect only very slowly and in the course of generations. I would submit (Dr. McDougall goes on) the principle that although differences of racial mental qualities are relatively small, so small as to be indistinguishable with certainty in individuals, they are yet of great importance for the life of nations, because they exert throughout many generations a constant bias upon the development of their culture and their institutions."[15] Even though mental capacities cannot be changed, the mental outlook may be so altered by education as to produce just as remarkable results. The life of subjection in slavery and the tremendous influence of superstition on the lives of the Negroes in the past have, no doubt, inhibited much of their latent capacity. Psychology has shown how phobias, for example, actually stunt the development of the mind. When the Negro is freed from inhibitions of oppression and given an opportunity for his highest self-expression, his development will doubtless go forward much faster. The guiding principle of the school

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[15]Mathews, Basil "The Clash of Color" p. 149 (quoting)

of thought begun by Booker T. Washington and carried on by his successor, Robert Moton, is to press forward the education of the Negro so that he may, as he becomes more and more efficient, win his place in the life of his country. The process will involve mutual coöperation and understanding between both races; but as Dr. Moton says, "The path of moral progress, remember, has never taken a straight line, but I believe that unless Democracy is a failure and Christianity a mockery, it is entirely feasible and practicable for the black and white man of America to develop side by side, in peace, in harmony, and in mutual helpfulness each toward the other; living together as 'brothers-in-Christ' without being 'brothers-in-law'; each making its contributions to the wealth and culture of our beloved country."[16] The difference in races is part of God's plan. Difference dispels the deadly monotony of uniformity; but it is the blend, not the clash of color which makes the beauty of the picture.[17]

2. The teaching of ideals

Ideals and attitudes can hardly be separated. Both are acquired more or less indirectly through knowledge and experience. But as Charters says, "We do not develop attitudes and ideals. We develop an attitude toward ideals. Attitude has no meaning except as defined in terms of the object toward which an attitude is developed."[18] My attitude toward an ideal determines to what extent I have made that ideal my own; and thus how strong a control it is to be in direct-

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[16] Dowd, Jerome "The Negro in American Life" p. 510 (quoting)
[17] Mathews, Basil "The Clash of Color" pp. 151-4
[18] Charters, W.W., "The Teaching of Ideals" p. 34

ing my conduct. Conversely, we may say that ideals determine our attitudes. Attitudes are the expression of our ideals if we have made those ideals a real part of ourselves. I have an ideal of universal brotherhood. That ideal, if I am really living by it, will determine my attitude toward the Negro in my class at school. When an individual is conscious of an attitude which he tries to modify and develop, the attitude becomes an ideal. The teaching of high ideals, then, is one of the main problems in fostering wholesome attitudes.

"It is not by Mechanism, but by Religion; not by Self-interest, but by Loyalty, that men are governed or governable", says Carlyle.[19] What is this Loyalty which rules men's lives? Their ideals? What is an ideal? Charters speaks of an ideal as a trait or characteristic which has become the object of desire.[20] Only when a person has made a trait a conscious objective does it become for him an ideal. Voelker describes an ideal as "a generalized notion or general concept used as a plan or standard of action; the recognition and appreciation of the practical worth of this plan or standard; and a tendency to accept and obey the plan or standard, to act it out in conduct."[21] Soares defines an ideal as "an imaginary conduct model representing more than usual behavior and requiring some effort to follow. Different from the group habit which is carried out as a matter of course, the achievement of the ideal is a conscious effort, involving, there-

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[19] Pierce, Edgar: "The Philosophy of Character" p. 11 (quoting)
[20] Charters, W.W., "The Teaching of Ideals" p. 34
[21] Voelker, P.F., "The Function of Ideals in Social Education".

fore, emotion which gives it added force."[22]

Accepting these statements as to the nature of an ideal, we realize that there are certain essential elements in its make-up - the imagistic or sensory; the intellectual or rational; the emotional; and the volitional.[23] All of these factors are necessary to an ideal, especially if we have any hopes of its functioning as a strong dynamic in developing character.

"Ideals are not inherited in nature, nor are they inherited in either germ plasm or institutions; they are rather inspired by psychological processes of infinite variations and permutations ...."[24] How are these ideals inspired? They grow out of education. A baby is not a real person. He is merely a "candidate for humanity."[25] The growth of his personality is a gradual process and is fostered by his interaction with society. An individual's feelings and emotions are inherited; but the direction in which they express themselves is a matter of education. The important question here is, of course, How are we to bring these emotional drives under control and set them off in the right direction? Voelker suggests five ways in which reaction patterns may be broken and new ones made:[26]

1. Inhibition - dissociating a response from its natural stimulus.

2. Attachment of a different response to an object and the feelings which it naturally arouses.

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[22]Soares, T., "Religious Education" p. 36
[23]Marlatt, E., Lectures on "Prin. of Moral and Rel. Education"
[24]Marlatt, E., Lectures on "Prin. of Moral and Rel. Education"
[25]Soares, T., "Religious Education" p. 19
[26]Voelker: "The Functions of Ideals in Social Education" p. 51

3. Attachment of an emotion and its response to a familiar situation which has not before called forth this emotion.

4. Attachment of a natural response to a stimulus which normally is not its own.

5. Attachment of a new response to a new situation by an old emotion - sublimation.

Now that we have seen some methods of controlling drives and redirecting them, our next step is to ask the question: Can an emotion become attached to a general idea as well as to a specific idea? If this is possible, will the driving power of the emotion be effectively aroused by the generalized idea so as to produce specific action in accordance with the idea? Ideals are generalized notions or standards of judgment; but their expression is through specific action. If an emotion cannot be attached to a generalized idea, it ceases to be an ideal, and is no longer effective as a dynamic guide to conduct. Inherited drives are both general and specific in their adaptations. Instincts are generalized; we know what it is to be afraid without having previously met the situation now causing fear. Why, then, is it not possible to attach strong emotional drives to generalized ideas which are acquired, such as justice and loyalty, so that these ideas may be effective in stimulating right action in specific situations? If we cannot prove that such connections are possible, and that they are vital in directing human lives, then moral and religious education has little value; for their chief function is the inspiration of high ideals so that these may produce high moral character.

Habit, of course, is very closely connected with ideals.

Valentine says that it is the key to personality. "The direct, simple, and non-intellectual character of moral habits in very young children may be the beginning of decided moral convictions. The best way to start a child toward a belief in truth is to teach him habits of truthfulness...."[27] Habits are the ways in which a person ordinarily acts - achieved social relationships. Ideals are better ways of acting which are being sought - a higher conception of what social relationships should be. Ideals are unattainable to a complete degree; but it must be possible to achieve them to a reasonable extent or there will be no satisfaction; and without satisfaction, the ideal will be discarded. In so far as an ideal is achieved, the results become habits. The ideal then must be made still more noble in order to be effective. The process continues; one high ideal inculcates another.

How does a person acquire his ideals? Religious and moral leaders hold that ideals are the resultants of education, just as attitudes are. Dr. Athearn says that ideals arise in response to that craving for coherency in life which is inherent in all rational beings.[28] The imagistic element of ideals arises from experience; through observation of others, through characters in books, through art - pictures, paintings, music, poetry. The rational element is evoked by Reason. The emotional element comes from the ego complex which centers around the instinct of self-preservation; from the sex complex which centers around the repro-

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[27] Valentine, P.F., "The Psychology of Personality" p. 51
[28] Marlatt, E., Lectures on "Prin. of Moral and Rel. Educ."

ductive instinct; and the herd complex which centers around the instinct of gregariousness. The emotional element is supplied also by association with things or personalities of which one is fond. The volitional element grows out of the emotional and is supplemented by the authority of the Church, parents, etc.[29]

An individual's ideals grow more or less unconsciously. The content of an ideal comes from progressive experience and disillusionment. Ideals are gradually enriched and become more unified and coherent. Since ideals arise from experience, in its broadest sense, the task of educators is to control conditions so that the experience of the child will foster high ideals.

The question as to how ideals may be taught is difficult to answer because ordinary processes of learning which are used in forming specific bonds must be supplemented in learning generalized responses; and also because the psychology of emotions which are shown in collective behavior is so little understood. Although ideals are standards; standards are not always ideals. The ideal of the teacher may not be the object of the child's desire. "One of the most difficult problems of teaching is precisely that of leading the children to desire the ideals which the teacher appreciates and knows to be of value to them."[30] The important thing is not the matter of learning ideals, but of having them function after they are learned. An ideal, to be developed, must be carried over into behavior. If an ideal is to become a part of one's life, it

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[29] Marlatt: Lectures on "Principles of Moral and Rel. Ed."
[30] Charters, W.W., "The Teaching of Ideals" p. 38

must be expressed in action. Ideals, habits, and attitudes must be integrated so that a person will always act in the light of principles, and so make his life unified.

"The imagistic and relational elements of ideals may be made operative through rational imitation."[31] Children choose those whom they want to imitate as their ideals. They become their standards of action. Imitation, although it has its limitations and dangers, is effective. Children are bound to imitate those with whom they come in contact; so the problem is to give them, from the very beginning, models which are worthy of imitation. But imitation is not enough. The child must have more than the image and the element of relationship producing a general concept. This concept must really make a difference in his action if it is to be an ideal. The idea must be transferred from the mind to the muscles. This transfer is made through the emotions which, therefore, must not be repressed or disregarded but must be trained so that their driving power will be going in the right direction. Voelker has made a series of rather detailed experiments through tests to show whether or not ideals do make a difference. From the results of the tests, he contends "that the emotional dynamic of impulses and instincts centering around primary complexes can be so controlled, directed, and re-directed by ideals as to make it a force producing rather than preventing high moral character."[32]

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[31] Marlatt: Lectures on "Prin. of Moral and Rel. Educ."
[32] Ibid.

This suggests the necessity of motivating the Will. An ideal will not grow if a desire for it is not created; but there must be more than a passive desire; there must be a purpose, - a will to act, - a conscious striving toward the desire; and this will grows out of knowledge and the desire to do right. Thus, ideals may be taught by presenting worthy models of imitation, by educating the emotions, and by motivating the Will. The child who has learned the facts about other races, and who has adopted the ideal of brotherhood will take an open-minded attitude toward interracial contacts.

B. More specific suggestions:

Mr. Will Winton Alexander, Director of the Commission on Interracial Coöperation, wrote in an article in the Missionary Review for July, 1924, that the Commission assumes that right racial attitudes are a by-product. They result from knowing facts, from proper contacts between people of different races, and from coöperative effort in common tasks which arouse a sense of fellowship.[33]

1. Emphasis on contributions of other races

One of the specific ways of creating favorable attitudes is through emphasizing the powers and abilities of the races and nationalities against which there is prejudice; and upon the contributions which they make to our lives. How many children are taught to realize that many of the world's greatest artists belong to the racial or national group of which the "dagoes" and "wops" of their community are members? How many children appreciate the contributions of the people of southern and central Europe to

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[33] "A Racial Goodwill Movement" p. 505

the fields of science, music, sculpture?

In regard to the Negro's contributions, James Weldon Johnson says, "The question of races - white and black - has occupied much of America's time and thought. Many methods of solution have been tried - most of them tried on the Negro, for one of the mistakes commonly made in dealing with this matter has been the failure of white America to take into account the Negro himself and the forces he was generating and sending out. The question repeated generation after generation has been: what shall we do with the Negro? - ignoring completely the power of the Negro to do something for himself, and even something for America...."[34] Our attitude must be changed from condescending pity for the "poor Negro" to an admiration for his creative genius. The prevalent idea among the whites is that the Negro is here to be filled intellectually, morally and culturally. We need to realize that he possesses a wealth of natural endowments and that he has much to give to our American culture. Individual achievement is much admired by boys and girls. If they are led to see how much the Negroes have accomplished, they will understand and appreciate them more. Some interesting facts which few people know are that Crispus Attucks, a Negro, was the first American to fall in the Boston Massacre; and also that about three thousand Negro soldiers took an active part in the Revolutionary War. Practically two million Negroes were freed by the Emancipation Proclamation. Most of them

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[34] "Race Prejudice and the Negro Artist" Harpers, Nov. 1928, p. 769

were illiterate. Illiteracy in this short time has been reduced to twenty-seven per cent. They own over twenty million acres of land, over one half million homes, and support many schools and thousands of churches. Negroes have held some important political positions in our government. In 1884, John R. Lynch, a Negro lawyer from Mississippi, presided over the Republican National Convention which nominated the President. Many Negroes have served in the State Legislatures; several have served in the House of Representatives; and two have been United States senators. Probably their more important contributions have been in the field of art. Such people as Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Countee P. Cullen, J. D. Corrothers, J. S. Cotters, Leslie P. Hill, Langston Hughes, Georgia Douglas Johnson, James Weldon Johnson, Clause McKay, and George McClellan have written some excellent poetry. Roland Hayes has achieved great fame here and abroad as a tenor singer. Many other names might be added to this list of artists, but these are sufficient for illustration. Incidentally, the paternal grandmother of Alexander Dumas was a full-blooded Negro. Also, we must mention, of course, the great work done by Booker T. Washington and his successor, Robert Moton, in Negro education, and in establishing friendly relations between the two races.

Let us now turn to the members of the Yellow race, against whom there is so much prejudice in some sections, and see what they have given and may give to the world. Perhaps their chief spiritual and cultural contributions, if we would but recognize them, are in the field of religion. We teach Christianity as

the supreme religion, but so-called Christians have much to learn from the Orient. The following accusation was made by a Moslem: "In a Mosque where Moslems worship their master, a peasant may stand beside a prince and a beggar may perform his adorations close to a millionaire but such is not the case in Christian churches."[35] Christian missionaries have generally taken the authoritarian and intolerant position of the early Church assuming that all practices of others are wrong; that all save Christians are heathens. They forget too easily the stories related in our Old Testament which tell of the cruel and heathen practices of the faith from which Christianity has sprung. Christianity has been severely criticized because of the attitude of superiority of the missionaries who go to other lands to impose their religion upon the "benighted heathen." Would that there were more men like E. Stanley Jones who really practices Christianity in his relations with others and leads them to find Christ through the best in their own religion. Mahatma Gandhi is a Christian in everything but name. "The natural course for Christianity", says a Chinese student, "is for the western peoples - not the missionaries - to demonstrate to the Chinese the beauty and practibility of Christianity, and let the Chinese assimilate the best at their own discretion. Any attempt at evangelism in organized department store style, or trying to determine for the Chinese what they should want, defeats its own purpose. For, the Chinese knows best what he wants for China in the development of

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[35]Fisher, Galen M., Religious Education Magazine, Apr. 1926, p. 180

Chinese national life."[36]

How much more tolerant children would be if they were taught to appreciate such contributions as these which other people have made. And what of our material needs? From Africa come much of our cotton, rubber, ivory, cocoa, spices, and many other every day necessities. From South America come most of the hides used for our many leather articles. Australia sends us wool. Japan sends us silk. The list is endless. Teachers may lead children to recognize the unity and interdependence of all nations through emphasis upon our every day needs and how the whole world helps to provide for them.

2. Teaching worldmindedness through stories, experiences, programs, pictures, games, etc.

Human beings the world over are alike in many more ways than they are different. There are many common qualities which are universally admired, such as courage, honesty, sacrifice, loyalty, which can be brought out in story, folklore, and historical tales. In developing the right attitudes in children, it is essential to emphasize the similarities of various races rather than their differences. Children perceive differences quickly enough and are likely to believe that people who look different and wear different clothes and eat different food, are funny. They will appreciate children of other races much more if they realize that these children like stories and pictures just as much as we do, that they play some of the very same games that we play, and that they have many things to teach us. Mission-

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[36]Fisher, Galen M., Rel. Educ. Magazine, April 1926, p. 181 (quoting)

ary agencies today are learning to "interpret boys and girls of the nations to one another in terms that they can comprehend, stressing likenesses and points of comradeship rather than strange customs and queer ways. Thus the effort is made to lay a basis for a type of world citizenship in later years that looks eagerly for the best that every people has to offer to the common life of a new world society and is prepared to coöperate in understanding and sympathy with those of other races and civilizations."[37]

The wise teacher will seize all opportunities for teaching racial friendliness from situations which arise in the actual experience of the child. She will select stories suitable to the child's experience. A lesson taught at the scene of such experience, at once, will make a deeper and more lasting impression than almost any other type of instruction. The story is a happy way of teaching by which the child may be able to make an immediate application to himself.

Missionary or friendship programs are often very helpful. In pageants and plays, when children put themselves in the place of children of other races, they are more likely to be able to assume their attitudes and understand and sympathize through their vicarious experience. The element of justice should be made a part of conscious idealism through instruction, activity, discussion and dramatization. "Serving the World" is a program published by The League of Nations Non-Partisan Association. Its purpose is

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[37]Cogswell, Franklin D., Rel. Educ. Magazine, April 1926, p. 210

to illustrate world interdependence. It is planned for presentation out of doors around a campfire. Each child, dressed in costume representing a different country, carries a fagot symbolic of an important contribution of that nation to the world. The procession marches by the fire, and as each child passes, he places his fagot on the fire and repeats a few words telling of his nation's contribution.

The Educational Department of this Association has also put out a pamphlet "International Relations for Children", containing excellent suggestions for teachers and leaders of children; such as stories, topics for discussions, games, dramatizations, folk dances and pictures, - leading to an acquaintance and understanding of the people of other lands.

Pictures have an important place in education, especially for children. What the child sees in a picture seems very real to him and may be an aid to his imagination in building accurate conceptions. Contacts with others are the best way of getting to know them - and pictures are a medium through which children may be introduced to the people and customs of different races and nations. "Many missionary pictures are worthy both from the artistic and from the educational standpoint, of a permanent place on the schoolroom walls. No one can estimate the educational value of such pictures. The set of a child's mind may be determined quite unconsciously but none the less surely by associating some fine and inspiring picture with the lessons taught in the Church School."[38]

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[38] Hutton, J. Gertrude, "Missionary Education for Juniors", p. 94

Games are another and very effective point of contact. The play spirit is universal and children the world over love many of the same games. They also learn to love the different games which children of other countries play. Such play creates a new bond of fellowship.[39] When the games are carefully explained, the children enter more naturally into the spirit of their foreign friends. Such play may create "an increased respect and sympathy for the boys and girls from whom they come. One class of boys, learning to play Chinese games for a local missionary exposition, came to have a decidedly greater respect for the Chinese after discovering how much strength it required to play 'man wheel'; while the girls delighted in the imaginative element as well as in the fun of 'frog in the well'; which was henceforth their favorite game. There can be little question that both boys and girls felt as if the Chinese were more real, more truly their brothers and sisters, when they had learned to play these games - a result that could not have been reached as easily and surely in any other way."[40]

Mrs. Catherine Miller Balm, a director of Young People's work in Philadelphia writes in this fashion concerning her experience with foreign games: "That games were jolly and dramatizations 'wonderful' caused a new feeling - 'Say, those fellows are pretty clever!' - That some of the games very much resembled favorite American ones and that the sentiment of a patriot (copied on an attractive poster) sounded just like the expressions of our own heroes,

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[39] Diffendorfer, R.E., "Missionary Ed. in Home and School", p. 54
[40] Hutton, J. G., "Missionary Educ. for Juniors", p. 97

caused delighted surprise. 'We're not so different after all.'"[41] Programs like these must be of such a nature that the people of the race depicted could enjoy them, too; and whenever possible, such children should be included in the participation. "The enrichment of a child's life through the teaching of new games is worth while in itself, but when to this is added a deepened sympathy with other children, a keener feeling of their worth, and a growing feeling of brotherhood, surely the value of learning the world's games strikes far below the visible surface."[42] Katherine Stanley Hall has published a book, "Children at Play in Many Lands" - describing the games of other countries, and showing illustrations of their costumes.[43]

The teacher or leader of groups where there are children of various races has a rare opportunity for developing friendliness through play. Personal contacts, free associations with other children, are the best way by which they may really become acquainted; and the universal appeal of play forms a strong bond between them. The foreign child, excelling in playing the games of his country or teaching new games, readily wins the respect and admiration of the group. As the children grow older, their former feelings of friendliness will affect their outlook; when they come to adulthood, their attitudes toward the Japanese family next door are likely to be more friendly because they will remember that it was one of them who

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[41] "Recreation--A Path to World Peace" Internatl. Jr. of R.E. Dec. 1928, p. 16

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[43] Hutton, J.G., "Missionary Educ. for Juniors", p. 97 Missionary Education Movement, N. Y., 1912 (see also "Through the Gateway" - Natl. Council for Prevention of War)

taught them to play 'man wheel'. Intermingling, then, is a vital factor in fostering understanding and friendship. In groups where personal contacts are few, the teacher should create opportunities, when possible, to bring the children together. It is so often argued that contacts are objectionable because parents expect that their children will lose all their culture and morals. But all foreign children are not dirty and immoral. The task of the parent and teacher is to afford the child opportunities to associate with the right sort of people. The child must be led to recognize his exposal to misinformation due to misrepresentation, exaggeration and distortion of the truth. It is vital that he come in contact with representatives of various groups at their best; realizing that whole nations or races cannot be condemned because of a few individuals; there are all kinds of people in every group, our own included. "Children are taught that they will lose their coveted social position in their own group if they are seen too often in free association with members of other groups. They should be made to feel, instead, that they would gain in their knowledge of people, that their own culture might be enlarged by the valuable contributions of their foreign-born neighbors, and that their loss of petty, narrow social relations would result in the larger social vision of human brotherhood."[44]

3. Coöperation of races in problems, projects, and organized recreation

As we have suggested, there is little doubt but that the best method of developing proper attitudes is through practicing brotherhood. Educating the child

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[44]Lasker, Bruno, "Race Attitudes in Children" p. 231

to appreciate the past achievements and contributions of various groups to our common heritage and their daily production of material and spiritual things which we value, is not a matter of lesson assignment and recitation, but a continuous utilization of all opportunities in every subject of instruction - humanizing geography, history, arithmetic, science. In the arrangement of pageants, art exhibits; in carrying out problems and projects in which the child at times represents his own group, and then again places himself in an alien personality, "he should get some insight into the common aspirations of mankind, the common efforts, the common difficulties and sufferings, and so to arrive at an appreciation of what is essential in our humanity and learn to distinguish the essential from the incidental, the superficial, the separating factors."[45] Of course, our progress will be slow, and we must patiently accept that fact, for we are dealing with something "that has had a very early start in the life of the individual and that has received constant reënforcement from a thousand details of daily life."[46] Our goal, however, must be coöperation, which, as Mr. Ralph Diffendorfer says, is more than meeting together or conferring together; it is working together.[47] The child should be given many opportunities to participate in coöperative activities. For older boys and girls, organized recreation has a great deal to give. "Sport which still keeps the flag of idealism flying, is perhaps the most saving grace

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[45]Gruenberg, S.M., "Twigs of Prejudice" Survey, Sept. 1, '26, p. 588
[46]Ibid: p. 588
[47]"Missionary Education in Home and School" pp. 117-119

in the world at the moment, with its spirit of rules kept and regard for the adversary whether the fight is going for or against. When, if ever, the fair-play spirit of sport reigns over international affairs, the cat force which rules there now will slink away and human life emerge for the first time from the jungle."[48]

One of the most frequent methods of having children participate in missionary enterprises is through their offerings in Sunday Schools. The unfortunate thing about this is, however, the fact that it is usually a "collection" - not an "offering". If any value is to accrue from having the children contribute money, they must understand just what their money is going to do. "Giving to God" does not mean very much to children. They must be giving to something definite and concrete. They must know that their money will help pay for the books in a certain school in Japan, for instance, rather than merely being informed that it is a missionary collection. Giving should be made reciprocal to guard against any feeling of superiority. The children of Japan may send back scrapbooks or posters which they have made; a correspondence between the American children and the children in the Japanese school may be started; or other similar methods of sharing may be devised. One very important thing to remember in this connection is that there are many opportunities for such coöperation and sharing right in one's own community. Children often are taught to give to missions abroad, but they do not learn to connect their teaching with contacts with other races in their own neighborhood.

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[48]Mathews, Basil, "Clash of Color" p. 137 (quoting John Galsworthy)

"If we honestly believe that all elements of our complex community have substantial contributions to make, we must make an honest effort to find out the resources of our heterogeneous population, and above all it should be the business of the teachers to try to understand."[49] As we have said before, practicing brotherhood is the most effective way of firmly fixing wholesome attitudes.

The National Council for Prevention of War has published two volumes called the Books of Goodwill - Volume I, "Through the Gateway" (for children); Volume II, "Across Borderlines" (for older boys and girls). These two books are filled with excellent materials - stories, poems, songs, pageants, plays, games, projects, - for building up goodwill. The projects include such activities as sending letters around the world (a project sponsored in particular by the Junior Red Cross, which seems very definitely to be forming friendly attitudes); making posters, maps, around-the-world scrapbooks; camping trips together, etc. References for securing materials are given, and also the names of goodwill magazines, pamphlets, books, and publishers.

An illustration of the results of a plan carried out near the Mexican border is given in The Inquiry's report by a California teacher:

> "Last Christmas, the smaller children of our Sunday school entertained the children of a nearby Mexican colony at a party. This was a give-and-take affair, and the Mexican children were invited and treated exactly as the white children of the neighboring Sunday school might have been. For the Mexican children the white ones made small

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[49]Gruenberg, S.M., "Twigs of Prejudice" Survey, Sept. 1, '26, p. 587

gifts of paper and cardboard. The Mexican children made a 'Pineota' and some 'Cascaronis' for presentation to their hosts. Both nationalities were much pleased with their presents and took great delight in their novelty.

"In May, the Mexican children invited the same group to their colony to a May party. Both nationalities brought May baskets as gifts to the others. They were even more friendly than at the first party. We hope in the autumn to have a party at which each nationality may exhibit its homes to the other."[50]

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has instituted a Committee on World Friendship among Children.

4. World friendship projects

This Committee states its objectives as follows:

(1) To conserve the natural friendliness of the child by providing opportunities for its expression.

(2) To make real to the child through experience the fact that the world is a neighborhood of nations.

(3) To develop the spirit of national coöperation with other nations.

(4) To give children a knowledge and an appreciation of the people of the country chosen for the project, stressing similarities rather than differences.

(5) To develop

a. An interest in some aspect of the life of the other nation which not only has educational value but will appeal to the children of both countries.
b. The desire to express friendliness in a thoughtful and dignified way.
c. A sense of international equality through an exchange of common interests.

(6) To select a country toward which for some reason special cultivation of friendliness is needed.

(7) To choose for the consummation of the friendship project a day which is of special significance to the other nation.

(8) To dramatize the project so that it will appeal to the imagination of our children.

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[50] Lasker, Bruno, "Race Attitudes in Children" p. 351

(9) To implant in the mind of the child the ideals of goodwill, understanding, and peace among nations.

(10) To enlist the interest and help of older people in the children's friendship gesture.

The projects thus far carried on by this Committee have been two - one with Japan and one with Mexico. The first consisted of sending 12,739 Doll Messengers of Friendship to attend the annual Doll Festival, March 3, 1927. As the Committee describes it, "The Dolls were sent from every State in the Union and were distributed by the Department of Education to primary schools and kindergartens, one Doll to each school. Not only the Japanese children but the adults as well were deeply stirred by this expression of goodwill from the children and young people of the United States. Even the Emperor and Empress of Japan took interest in this goodwill adventure and invited the 49 representative Dolls, headed by Miss America, to make a week's visit to the Imperial Palace. They also donated a wonderfully beautiful "Doll Palace" for the permanent home of these representative American Dolls. The Japanese response was shared by 2,610,000 children whose contributions made possible the sending to the United States of 58 superb Doll Ambassadors of Goodwill. In delivering their messages they travelled thousands of miles and attended about 600 receptions."[51]

The second project consisted of sending Friendship School Bags to be distributed among the primary schools by the Mexican De-

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[51] "An Adventure in International Goodwill" (a pamphlet)

partment of Education. "These are beautifully embossed, durable, fabrikoid Bags, in three colors, costing $1.75, and each containing six or more articles selected by the children. In addition to the children's gifts is a package of beautiful picture cards showing the two great patriots of the United States, Washington and Lincoln; Mexico's two great patriots, Hidalgo and Juarez; our Liberty Bell and their Liberty Bell; our great waterfall and their great waterfall; our goodwill flier, Lindbergh, and their goodwill flior, Carranza. Schools and groups in every part of the United States have already taken joyous part in this adventure in goodwill. In many communities remarkable send-off programs focussed popular attention on friendship for Mexico. The enthusiasm now developing in Mexico by the arrival of our Friendship Bags is shown by the friendly study of the United States already beginning in the public schools, by the formation of a Mexican Committee on World Friendship among Children, and by plans already under consideration for the return goodwill gesture to the United States."[52] Plans for a third project are now being considered.

An extract from a letter from our Committee says,

> "It seems to us that concrete activities of this sort are one of the best ways to cultivate racial tolerance in children, for they give the children of both countries a splendid opportunity to develop an interest in and an understanding of those of the other land. As you will see, we suggest books on the country we are sending the friendship tokens to, and urge those who are directing the projects to devote as much time as possible to a real study of the country. The friendly letters are much stressed, and if an answer comes to them that adds greatly to the enthusiasm of the American child. We have had many requests

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[52] "An Adventure in International Goodwill" (a pamphlet)

as a result of our projects for the names of children in other countries to whom American children may write.

"You doubtless know that the Junior Red Cross has an active program of letter-writing and the exchange of gifts among the children of various lands, with of course the same objects in mind of creating international understanding and goodwill."[53]

The great influence which the Japanese project has had is indicated in the booklet prepared by the Committee on International Friendship among Children in Japan, called "Welcome to the American Doll-Messengers". This book is delightfully written - telling how enthusiastically the "little ambassadors" were received and also of Japan's reciprocal project.[54] An account of the reception of the School Bags in Mexico is printed in the November (1928) issue of "Everyland".

The Committee has published numerous pamphlets with suggestions, readings and other helps for leaders, parents, teachers, and workers on these projects. Who can doubt the value of such gestures of friendship? Surely the children who have participated in them have come closer to an understanding and a feeling of greater oneness with the children of these other lands.[55]

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[53] Letter received in February (1929)
[54] Hibiya Park, Toyko - August, 1927
[55] see form letters in Appendix

SUMMARY

SUMMARY

The causes of racial prejudice seem to be due more to social reasons than to the facts of race. Among adults, antagonism arises because of economical and political factors; differences in temperament and character, civilization, physical characteristics; repugnance to intermarriage; and above all, to ignorance and misinformation which are fostered by all the other conditions.

Children acquire their attitudes largely from the adults with whom they come in contact; so the previously mentioned causes indirectly have a strong influence upon the racial outlook of the child. He is quick to notice the way in which other races are segregated and excluded from associations with his people. Children also obtain many of their prejudicing ideas from actual teaching.

Attitudes are so important as controls of conduct that it is very necessary to understand something about them. Although comparatively little scientific data is as yet available as to exactly how attitudes are formed, psychologists have demonstrated their importance in interpreting situations and conditioning action.

Since this is the case, wholesome attitudes toward people of other races must be developed if our conduct toward them is to be favorable and the corner stone of democracy laid.

One starting point in the achievement of such attitudes in children is through the education of adults, since their influence in so great. Children, too, must be taught ideals of justice, universal peace, and brotherhood. More specifically, the right sort of attitudes may be instilled by teaching children the good things about other people rather than their differences and short-comings - emphasizing their powers and abilities, and the contributions which they make to our lives. The technique used in presenting these ideas is the same as in other teaching, although more difficult because attitudes and ideals are really by-products of direct instruction. The methods suggested include teaching through stories, programs, pictures, games, problems, and projects. Personal contacts are stressed as the best way by which individuals may truly learn to know one another. We believe that education is the foundation of wholesome attitudes because without knowledge there can not be understanding and sympathy; but there must be more than mere information; there must be behind it the desire and the will to do - the dynamic drive of the emotions and the positive pull of Christian ideals - in order to transfer knowledge into action.

CONCLUSION

To those in whom love dwells
the world is but one family.

Buddha.

CONCLUSION

Is it futile to suggest that spreading true Christian education will lead to a solution of the race problem?[1] We believe not. "Color and climate are not the fundamental things. There is truth which is under all and over all, independent of geography, 'common to all humanity, determing history and life'. We believe that Christianity is this truth."[2]

Though a person of one color may feel superior to one of another color, does that excuse him from acting like a Christian? "Jesus was superior to all around him and he showed his superiority by being a servant to all. The Pharisee showed his superiority by thanking God that he was different from his despised fellowmen."[3] Then, too, the admission of inferiority is not necessarily discouraging if it is felt to exist in regard to certain qualities only. "For instance, Italians may admit that in the matter of height and physical strength they are, on an average, inferior to Anglo-Saxons. That would not discourage them. In the same way, Americans may admit that they are less artistic than the Japanese; Hindus that they are less musical than Italians; Russians that they are less logical than the French. A mutual recognition of specific racial or national superiorities and inferiorities, without attempts to formulate any general theory of superiority or inferiority might lead to

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[1]Speer, Robt., "Of One Blood" pp. 153-162
[2]Ibid: p. 154
[3]Anderson, F.L., "A Christian Solution of the Race Problem" Miss. R., July 1924, p. 536

greater admiration of all races towards each other, and to greater efforts on the part of each further to perfect itself in the qualities in which it already excels and to make good, in so far as that is possible, the felt failings or handicaps in racial or national character and abilities."[4]

Christianity stands for three great fundamental ideals: the ideal of equality - not in capacity or achievement, but in the right to justice, life, happiness, work, self-development, and liberty; the ideal of service and love; and the ideal of unity.[5] Jesus' life was one of humble service to all mankind; but was it not Christianity which contributed to the meek humility and submissiveness which kept the Negroes in slavery? We do not believe that this was true Christianity. "Neither in the life of Christ nor in modern democracy do we find sanction for submission to essential moral wrong. Christ brought a sword which the good man of our day can by no menas sheathe; his councils of submission seem to refer to merely personal injuries, which it may be better to overlook in order to keep the conflict on a higher plane. If we mean by Christianity an understanding and brotherly spirit toward all men and a reverence for a higher life behind them, expressed in an infinite variety of conduct according to conditions, it would

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[4]Speer: "Of One Blood" p. 59 (footnote quoting Bruno Lasker)
[5]See: Diffendorfer: "Miss. Educ. in Home and School"

seem to be always right, and always feasible, so far as we have strength to rise to it."[6]

Rajah B. Manikan says: "In Christ Jesus the nations of the world are finding their common meeting ground....The race problem of the world has only one solution, and that is the Christian solution. Christ died for all men. I thank God that Christ is a marvelously inexhaustible personality, that every nation on earth can come to him and find its best ideal realized in him. If we love him, our common Saviour, then we will love our neighbour, for whom also Christ died. I do not think that the world ever had a greater malady than the present epidemic of superiority complex of one race against another. The only cure for this is the realization of the Christian truth that we are children of one Father, made in his image, and of one blood. Instead of talking of our national pride, our greatness, and our imperial destinies, let us talk in terms of service. Then we will pour contempt on our pride and count our richest gain but loss, and lose ourselves in His service."[7]

Shall we accept this challenge and make Christianity Christian?

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[6]Ibid: p. 88 (quoting Chas. H. Cooley "Soc. Organ." p. 204)
[7]International Journal of Religious Education, Dec. 1928, p. 8

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3. Committee on World Friendship among Children, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York
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   - The Festival of Dolls
   - World Friendship among Children
   - Books on Mexico
   - The Friendship Dolls from the Children of Japan
4. Commission on Interracial Coöperation 409 Palmer Building, Atlanta, Georgia
5. The Inquiry - 129 East 52nd St., New York
6. The League of Nations Non-Partisan Assoc. 6 East 39th Street, New York
   - International Friendship through Children's Books, by Clara W. Hunt

Serving the World

International Relations for Children

What to do With Goodwill

APPENDIX

COMMITTEE ON

WORLD FRIENDSHIP AMONG CHILDREN

INSTITUTED BY

THE COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE AND GOODWILL OF THE
FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA, INC.

289 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

My dear Miss Porter: November 12, 1928.

Only a few weeks remain until our friendship project with Mexico comes to an end. The final date for sending Bags is December 5th. In its results it has been successful beyond our expectation. The direct results up to date are:

1. The establishing in Mexico of a Mexican Committee on World Friendship among Children.

2. The organizing in every State of the Republic of Mexico of a Committee on World Friendship among Children. Dr. Saenz, Minister of Education, wrote me last week that eight states were already organized.

3. The writing into the curriculum of the public schools in Mexico of a course on World Friendship. A letter from Mexico states that never in its history has there been such an attitude of friendliness and goodwill felt toward the United States. Ambassador Morrow has been building it during the time he has been there and Lindbergh's visit accomplished a great deal. The thousands of friendship school bags, with their friendly messages, that have poured into the schools of the country have made a profound impression.

Letters will begin very shortly to come back from the school children in Mexico to the children in the United States who sent the friendship school bags.

The Department of Education is planning to send to every one in the United States who shared in this project a copy of one of the lovely folk songs in Mexico, with words in Spanish and English. One of Mexico's noted singers will make a Victor record of the song. The Minister informed me that he could secure a special rate on it and would let us know when and where it would be available.

Mexico is planning a reciprocal friendship project with the children of the United States in 1929. The plan is to have the Mexican school children all over the country give one, two or three centavos each toward the working out of the plan. Forty nine beautiful exhibits of her Arts and Industries will be sent, one for every State and one for Washington, D.C.

The Minister of Education has expressed the wish that every primary school teacher keep the set of picture cards sent in each Bag (you know we have added Carranza's card), and use them as a basis for 10 lessons in world friendship. If each teacher is to have a set, we shall need to reach the number of 35,000 by December 5th. We have sent up to date approximately 27,000. 35,000 sent will mean that every primary school class in the Republic of Mexico will have a friendship school bag.

The honor child with the highest standing in each class is given the friendship school bag and one article in it; the child with the second highest standing, the second article, etc. The bag and its contents are well distributed among the children in the class.

I have written an account of the reception in Mexico in the November "Everyland". If you do not have it we will send you a copy for 15 cents, which includes the postage.

In order that every primary school class may have a friendship school bag, I am asking if you will be responsible for the sending of at least two more bags. If you will, I believe that the number suggested by the Minister of Education will be reached. We are depending on you. The project has already been successful, but to make it outstandingly so this friendship symbol should reach every primary school class.

Your order will be filled as soon as you send it in. This is our final appeal. May we depend on you?

Very sincerely yours,

Jeannette W. Emrich.

JWE:M

P.S.--This form of letter is adopted for the sake of economy but please regard the letter as personally addressed and personally signed.

COMMITTEE ON

WORLD FRIENDSHIP AMONG CHILDREN

INSTITUTED BY

THE COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE AND GOODWILL OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA, INC.

289 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

October 5, 1928

Dear Friends:

The enclosed folder is a report of progress regarding the Friendship School Bag project, which is already making a deep impression on the people of Mexico. It is now planned to continue it till December 5.

Mrs. Emrich, who has just returned from Mexico, reports the welcome in the great Stadium on September 15 as extraordinarily colorful and enthusiastic. 31,000 boys and girls took part. President Calles himself handed a girl's Friendship bag to a Mexican girl, - as he kissed her, - and a boy's Bag to a Mexican boy. Mexican bands were playing the Star Spangled Banner, American flags were waving, while the packed crowds stood and cheered and cheered. An old American resident declared he had never seen such popular goodwill expressed toward the United States before during all his years in Mexico.

Mrs. Emrich also reports that a course on international friendship has already been made a regular part of the curriculum of the primary schools of the country, due entirely, as Dr. Saenz stated, to this friendship project from the United States.

One Mexican teacher told Mrs. Emrich that they "are now studying about the United States, its history, its accomplishments, its people, and all in a friendly way." "This", she added, "is a new thing, and strange, but we are happy in doing it."

Another teacher said, "We have heard a great deal about our enemies in the United States, but we had not heard before about the friends we have there."

Will not your school have a share in this friendship project? Shall we send you a folder giving all details?

Faithfully yours,

Sidney L. Gulick

Secretary